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## Outline Of Reference Paper On:

### KHRUSHCHEV'S PROPAGANDA USE OF THE LENIN ANNIVERSARY

The numerous meetings in the Soviet Union celebrating the Nineteenth Anniversary of Lenin's birth have seen the use of Lenin's authority to lend ideological support to Khrushchev's policies, many of which have proved unpopular.

The Soviet Government attempts to find in Lenin's teachings the authoritative confirmation for the present line of peaceful coexistence with the West. Despite the many references to Lenin, the Soviet Government has not been able to quote from his writings in support of the peaceful-coexistence concept. Indeed, many passages show that Lenin was opposed to it. The deliberate falsification of Lenin's theories, which this attempt involves, is not copied by the Communist leaders in Peking, who stand by the principles of "pure Leninism."

The ambiguous nature of the present Soviet policy reveals itself in many official publications, which declare that the present Soviet peace policy is merely a temporary measure. The same ambiguity becomes apparent in domestic policy, when propaganda about the unity of the Party and the people—a unity allegedly endorsed by Lenin—is compared with other statements by the regime which stress the primacy of the Party over everything.

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## KHRUSHCHEV'S PROPAGANDA USE OF THE LENIN ANNIVERSARY

In an effort to get Party support for his policies, many of which are proving unpopular, Khrushchev has made lavish use of the celebrations commemorating the ninetieth anniversary of Lenin's birth. The fact is that Khrushchev's policies depart in many points, such as the dissolution of the machine and tractor stations, the concessions granted to collective farmers with regard to their personal plots, and the increase of a material incentives for the workers, from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism; they are dictated by practical considerations, are not infrequently prompted by manifestations of a desire for greater freedom and democracy in various strata of Soviet society, and consequently require some form of authoritative confirmation and ideological justification. This difficulty the Soviet leaders are attempting to resolve by demonstrating that Khrushchev's policies are based on the teachings of Lenin; this attempt involves a deliberate falsification of many articles of Leninist theory.

These distortions of Leninist theory have inevitably become obvious to many commentators in the free world and to educated Communists not only in the Communist Parties abroad but also in the USSR itself. Further, the Communist leaders in Peking are stubbornly standing by the principles of "pure Leninism" and are trying to conduct their foreign and internal policies in accordance with these principles.

In their speeches, the Soviet leaders promote especially the concept of peaceful coexistence as the child of Leninist theory. In fact, however, no one of the Soviet hierarchy has been able to produce a single complete quotation from Lenin's writings which would prove that the concept of peaceful coexistence can really be attributed to Lenin. Indeed, there is plenty of material in his works to justify the view that Lenin was opposed to this concept:

We live not merely within a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of a Soviet republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is unthinkable ( Lenin, Works, Vol. XXIV, 1936, p. 122 ).

(more)

Also, in a speech delivered before a meeting of Moscow Party members Lenin said:

For the time being, there remain Capitalism and Socialism, but they cannot live together in peace (Ibid., Vol. XXXI, 1950, p. 427).

Being unable to quote Lenin directly on the question, the Soviet leaders frequently refer to the 'Treaty of Brest-Litovsk concluded by him with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria in March 1918 as a practical example of his policy on peace:

The history of the Soviet state can show not a few examples of Lenin's wise and flexible foreign policy, which was designed to solve the most important questions of peace. It was so, for example, at the time of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty (Khrushchev in Pravda, November 1, 1959).

What Lenin really thought of this "example" of his "peaceful" policy may be seen from the following:

The example of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty has taught us a great deal... but, as soon as we are strong enough to defeat capitalism, we shall immediately seize it by the scruff of the neck Lenin, Works, Vol. XXXI, 1950, pp. 412-13).

The forced nature of the peaceful-coexistence policy reveals itself in speeches and articles in the Soviet press. For example, Otto Kuusinen, who is in charge of questions concerning the world Communist movement in the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, published an article in the journal Problemy Mira i Sotsializma, Problems of Peace and Socialism, (Prague, 1960, No. 4) explaining to Communist Parties outside the USSR that Soviet peace policy is nothing but a transitional stage, a preparation for the forthcoming struggle with the free world for the final victory of Communism. Moreover, the Party Central Committee issued in 1959 under the general editorship of Kuusinen, a handbook entitled The Foundations of Marxism-Leninism, which emphasizes that in many countries of the West Communism will come to power only by means of an armed revolution. On p. 529, the book states:

While noting the emergence of the possibility of peaceful revolution, Marxists-Leninists also see something else: the inevitability in a number of cases of an intensification of the class struggle... There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship by means of armed class struggle will be inevitable.

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On the home front, the role of the Party and its leaders in the life of Soviet society was played up in Soviet propaganda during the period preceding the anniversary. Emphasis was laid on the unity of the Party with the people, the love of the people for the Party and the trust which the people place in it. The journal Partiinaya Zhizn (Party Life), for instance, put it this way:

Following in Ilich's (Lenin's) steps, the Party constantly consults the workers, kolkhoz members and the intelligentsia. It takes careful account of the people's thoughts, and together with the people works out its plans for the future ("Lenin Lives and Conquers," 1960, No. 7).

Some pre-celebration statements, though, asserted flatly that the Party is in charge of everything that goes on in the USSR:

The Communist Party directly leads all state and non-state organizations of the workers (Pravda, April 20, 1960).

These statements suggest fairly clearly a desire to bolster the Party's authority by references to Lenin, an indication that the Party leaders are to some extent unsure of their position in the eyes of the public as a whole as well as the rank-and-file of the Party and even senior officials and theoreticians within the Party. Partiinaya Zhizn declares, for example:

... Time has proved powerless over Lenin. Lenin lives in the work of the Party. Lenin lives in the collective will of the Central Committee... (The duty of the Party) is to secure the creation of conditions that will exclude the possibility of local patriotism, anarchism, and the "regional element." (1960, No. 7).

Disagreement between Peking and Moscow on the attitude of Lenin toward peaceful coexistence with the capitalist world is an uneasy problem. The articles devoted to the Lenin anniversary by the Chinese paper Ten Min Ti Pao and the Chinese journal The Red Flag (April 15, 1960) make it clear that the points of view of Moscow and Peking are diametrically opposite. The stand of the Chinese Communist leaders on this question is that to the socialist world war holds no terrors, for it will inevitably lead to the final overthrow of capitalism. The inevitability of war, they say, springs from the very nature of imperialism:

Lenin said that modern warfare is a product of imperialism, and that so long as imperialism continues to exist, aggressive wars will take place (Ten Min Ti Pao, April 22, 1960).

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The capitalist and Communist systems, the Chinese leaders insist, cannot exist together in peace. In a speech delivered at a meeting marking the Lenin anniversary in Peking, Lu Cheng-Yi, a member of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party, even accused the Soviet leaders indirectly of modifying certain basic Leninist principles.

Naturally, the Soviet press ignores such utterances by the Chinese Communist leaders. During the last few weeks, Pravda, published articles on the subject of Lenin by almost all the leaders of the world's leading Communist Parties, but among this stream of articles confirming the Leninist basis of Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence the contribution of the Communist leaders of Peking was conspicuously absent.

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